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POETRY.



ODE TO THE UNION

Alas! "Scott's who hies,"
Southern people! in whose veins
Blood of worthy sires remains,
Will you tamely wear the chains
Forging now for you?
If because the north is strong,
We submit to suffer wrong,
Who can say it will be long,
Ere for life we sue?

Yes! to States for which we've bled—
Men that we have clothed and fed,
We shall have to bow the head
In humility.
And that dark northern cloud,
Thund'ring now against us loud,
Will become a southern shroud—
Shroud of chivalry.

Let us now the cloud defy,
While there's lightning in our sky—
Raise a storm and sweep it by
Back from whence it sprung.
If we would the Union save
From a dark eternal grave,
Let us now the danger brave,
Ere its dirge be sung.

Shall the father teach the son
From a righteous cause to run?
Rather let us one by one,
Or by thousands die;
And, on the Pacific coast,
Rising every hero's ghost,
Fright'ning the aggressive host,
Till the last shall fly.

Shall submission stain our name?
Shall we yield up honor's claim?
Shall we blush with coward shame
When the strife is o'er?
Better that the ocean's tide
O'er our land in storm should ride,
And the south beneath it hide,
To be known no more.

SPEECH OF THE HON. R. B. RHETT.

Delivered at Hibernia Hall, in the City of
Charleston, June 21, 1850.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: I thank you for the frank and cordial reception you have given me this night; and I propose to evince my gratitude in the only way in my power, by saying before you a free and truthful exposition of my opinions, on the grave matters which have assembled us together. The time has arrived when it becomes the people of the Southern States no longer to deprecate, but to face, with unbending front, the dangers which surround them; whilst, from their public servants, they should demand all the aid they are capable of imparting, to enlighten their councils and guide their determinations. Without reserve or fear, I propose to speak to you to-night.

I fully assent to all which your immediate representative has said, and so well said, with respect to the Nashville Convention. We assembled under the frown of the whole North, and of the partisans of all parties of the South, which looked to the North for affiliation and support. That sympathy which was given man by a kind Providence, to daunt and baffle oppression, by leading us to the side of the suffering and oppressed, we found near our own homes, perverted against us; and, whilst hushed in its arrangements of the North, was loud in its denunciations of all those in the South, who looked beyond oppression for redress. Conventions in the North, to take into consideration the institution of slavery in the South, and the most effectual means of overthrowing it, have become so common as to be matters of course, without censure or commendation; but when a portion of the people of the South, driven by a long course of persecution and insult, assembled together to counsel for the defence of their dearest interests and honor, they are denounced even in the South; and every effort is made to cover their convention with confusion and failure. Gentlemen, the Nashville Convention did meet, it counselled, it united. The breath of the people which gave it life, gave it also strength and unanimity. Its effect was in nothing more remarkable, than in the change

of opinion and feeling it apparently produced on the people of Nashville and the Tennessee delegation. Instead of coldness and alienation, we received the warmest hospitality from the generous and noble people of that beautiful city; and the Tennessee delegation, whilst ministering in every way to the accommodation of the convention, acted with the utmost forbearance and dignity, and finally gave to all our proceedings and measures, their unanimous support. The toast of Gov. Brown, at a dinner given by Gen. Pillow and himself to the delegates of the convention, declaring that, in five days, the Tennessee delegation were brought into line, shows how previous mistrust had been changed into confidence. These were the results, not of artifice or a refined policy, but of simple truthfulness and manly frankness amongst Southern men, conferring face to face upon the rights and wrongs of the South. The proceedings of the convention reflected the spirit of its members. It was prepared to concede anything but principles. These it laid down with distinctness and firmness, exposing the constitutional rights to which the South was entitled. Equality in the Union. Equality in the territories. But if the North refused us that equality (which constitutes the bond of the Union itself) in our territories, and insisted upon putting the constitution aside, then, for the sake of peace and the Union, the convention proposed that the South should accept, as an extreme concession, a partition of our territories, on the Missouri compromise line of 36 deg. 30 min. parallel of north latitude.

By this line the North would get three-fourths of our territories, but as it had been twice before sanctioned by those who have gone before us, the honor of the South was at least saved by the proposition. But the partition the convention proposed was not in words of the Missouri compromise of 1820. That compromise took place with respect to territory, over which slavery existed by the Louisiana purchase. It merely proscribed that north of 36 deg. 30 min. slavery should be prohibited; but it said nothing with respect to the admission of slavery south of that line. The reason was obvious. It was not necessary to say anything, because the whole territory was already slave territory, and slavery would of course be admitted wherever it was not prohibited. But the fact is directly the contrary as to the territory we have lately acquired from Mexico. When acquired, slavery did not exist throughout this territory. The convention therefore proposed, in the partition between the North and South on this line, that there should be a distinct recognition of the right of the two sections of the Union, to enter and colonize the portions assigned to each. The admission of slavery should be as distinct on one side of the line as its exclusion on the other. Not only our equality and honor required this policy, but the peaceful enjoyment of the portion assigned to the South rendered it necessary. Truly or falsely, it had been boldly asserted by some of the ablest jurists and statesmen of the country, that the people of the South were excluded, by the laws of Mexico, from entering any portion of these territories with their slaves. It was not proper, when setting aside the constitution to effect an arrangement, to leave any doubt as to its effect on either side of the line proposed. Nor would the words used in carrying out this line through Texas, in the resolutions of annexation, suit the emergency. These resolutions contemplated the admission of States. They do not apply to a country in a territorial condition. New words, therefore, would be necessary to carry out the terms of partition proposed by the convention. Whilst thus laying down the "extreme concession" which the South should make with respect to our territories—the convention repudiated and condemned the measures pending in the Senate of the United States, called "the compromise." It condemned them, not only because in effect they surrendered every thing to the North, but because Southern men supported the surrender. The South, struck down by the arms of her own sons, would find it more difficult to rise from the blow. Putting aside all other methods of adjustment, the convention presented to the North the fair and simple alternative—Equality in our territories under the constitution, or a partition of them beside it.

Fellow-Citizens! It is a matter of the gravest importance to us to consider, whether either of the alternatives proposed by the Nashville Convention, will be adopted by Congress. Will an equality in our territories be conceded; and if not, will the North divide with us our territories on the line proposed? If either of these alternatives shall be enforced by the legislation of Congress, all danger to the Union, from the question of slavery in our territories, will be over, although the subject of slavery itself would still continue, in other forms, to be agitated in Congress, and in the Northern States. The convention was unanimous in presenting these alternatives, but I cannot but suppose that a great deal of our unanimity sprang from the belief that the North would yield us one or the other of them; and would not persist in the unjust, insulting pretension of seizing all our territories for themselves. It was understood that the most distinguished statesman of Pennsylvania, one whose patriotic counsels have ever been in favor of the Union, and the constitutional guaranties on which it rests, had expressed himself in favor of the Missouri compromise line of 36 deg. 40 min. extending to the Pacific ocean, as a method of adjustment, which the South should demand and the North should yield. If Pennsylvania could be brought to aid the just demands

of the South, the controversy would be brought to a speedy and peaceful end. Such views, I doubt not, influenced the convention in coming to their unanimous conclusions. But if they shall not be realized, the unanimity of the convention may by no means be a guaranty of unanimity on ulterior measures. We, at least, should not be deceived, and thus be weakened by false expectations. Truth is strength and wisdom. Let us, therefore, boldly look consequences in the face, and bring our determinations up to the most probable results.

And first, will the Senate's compromise become a law? Certainly not, I think, in the present state of things. When the true nature of the measures it proposes, be fairly understood by the people of the south, its adherents in Washington, from the south must relax or give up that support they have heretofore extended to it. But should it pass the Senate, it cannot, I am satisfied pass the House of Representatives. There the anti-slavery bigotry of the north most predominates. It will take nothing equivocal even in appearance, but demands the Wilmot proviso in territorial bills, or the Wilmot proviso in the constitution of States to be presently formed out of our territories. Yet if these fail there is some ground to fear that, alarmed at the attitude of the south, or convinced that the Senate's compromise sufficiently subverts their interests, the north may make a rush in its favor, and press it into a law. At present, however, they more strongly oppose it than the south. But will a partition of our territories on the line proposed by the Nashville Convention, be adopted by Congress? This measure, in my opinion, is more desperate of success than the Senate's compromise. The north, I am satisfied, will never permit the south to occupy any portion of one territory lying on the Pacific sufficient to make a State, with a southern border open to future extension. This would endanger their whole policy of mastering the confederacy and colonizing the south, by multiplying free States, and admitting no more slave States into the Union. Lastly, will the South be admitted to an equality in our territories, including California, by territorial laws passed by Congress? To hope for such legislation is to hope against hope. If then, all of these expedients of adjustment fail in Congress, where are we? We are in the beginning of a revolution.

I know that it may be said that the north will recede before extremes are reached. But when, in these latter days, has the north receded from any policy which her interests or her prejudices have demanded? And when, in any age, has fanaticism calculated consequences? The very high and honorable prerogative of yielding under the pressure of circumstances, belongs, I believe, exclusively, to the south! Will the south now give back, and fall on an issue which involves, not merely her liberty and honor, but existence itself, or will she fearlessly and firmly stand erect, and move on in the vindication of her rights? Will not those be disappointed who expect her to come forward, ignominiously, with another "extreme concession," or to give up, all at the bidding of political aspirants for power and place, in the drunken saturnalia of another Presidential election.

From my retired position, I may be mistaken in the true aspect of things; but not such is my reading of the political heavens. I think the air feels hot and heavy, and no rays of the setting sun glads the blackness of the horizon. I think free on the stupidity, ignorance and insolence of the north, the exact counterpart of British Statesmen, in our Revolution, who would heed nothing, and learn nothing until the thunders of Revolution burst upon their heads, and broke the sceptre in their hands over the fairest empire God ever gave to the dominion of any people. I think I see in the south, the weakening of the bonds of party, the awakening spirit of liberty, the gathering resolve to be equal in the Union, or independent without it; whilst the long endurance of indignity and wrong, like suppressed fire, gives deeper intensity to their determinations. There is often a moral, as strong as a physical necessity, which controls the affairs of men. One step leads to another by inevitable consequence. To begin, is to go on; and to go on, is to go on to the end. It has been so in all revolutions; and events which at the time they occurred appeared to be of little moment, have been fountains of bitter waters, or of healing to the nations. When Christopher Gadsden, in our Revolution, first denounced from the steps of the Exchange the tyranny of England, and advocated resistance, a spirit it was a broad which nothing but redress or revolution would satisfy. And so I believe it must be, under the contingencies I have supposed, in the South. She will have redress or disunion; and the Nashville Convention will be one of those great events which will mark the beginning of mighty changes.

My friends! All changes in governments are serious things. Nothing will justify a free people in changing their government, but a conviction that it does not fulfill the purpose for which it was created. We must all take a part in the important transactions now going on amongst us, for good or for evil, under the weight of responsibility all republican governments impose on their citizens. I invite you to a calm and serious consideration of your condition in the Union, in order that you may properly do your part, in the drama of its dissolution, which, it appears to me, must take place at no very distant day.

The great object of free government, is liberty. The great test of liberty in modern times, is to be free in the imposition of taxes, and the expenditure of taxes. To these

tests there is another peculiar to a country where slavery prevails, personal protection and security from the dangers, necessarily involved in this institution. I propose to take up each of these points separately, that you may judge how far you are practically free and protected under the Government of the United States, as now administered.

And first, are you free in the imposition of the taxes you now pay to the General Government? There are no people in the world who ought so thoroughly to understand, or as highly appreciate the great principles of freedom involved in taxation, as the people of the United States. Its vindication was the one great cause of our Revolution. Our fathers boldly asserted that for people to be free in the imposition and payment of taxes, they must lay them through their Representatives. If they were laid by any other authority than their own, they were political slaves. Hence, when they were called upon by the Government of Great Britain to pay taxes laid on them by the Representatives of the people of England, in Parliament, they refused to pay them. Nor could they see any difference in the principle between no representation and representation inadequate to protect them in the paying of the taxes. Great Britain offered them a representation in the British Parliament, but as the representation would be a minority, it could not control the legislation by Parliament; and, consequently, the taxes laid on them by Parliament would still be practically taxes not laid by their Representatives. They would still be ruled by others, and would not rule themselves in the taxes imposed. They would, therefore, not be free; and rather than submit to the political slavery, the payment of such taxes established over them, they drew the sword of revolution. Now, in what respect do the taxes you now pay to the General Government, differ in principle from those our fathers resisted. Did your Representatives lay them?

And if it was in their power or yours to repeal them, would they remain a day on the Statute book? The tariff act of 1840, is but a modification of the tariff of 1810, passed, in Congress against the vote of every Representative from South Carolina. It contains, from beginning to end, discriminations in the taxes imposed to benefit northern manufacturers and productions; and differs, therefore, in this principle, in no respect whatever from the tariff of 1810. It is ten per cent. higher in its exactions than the tariff of Great Britain, or the tariff of 1833, coerced by South Carolina. Such a tariff, it was and is the unanimous opinion of our Representatives in Congress, is unconstitutional, and you are nearly unanimously of the same opinion. Here, then, are taxes laid upon you by the Representatives of other States, not only against your will, but without any warrant in the constitution. Are you any better off than your fathers would have been, had they been represented in Parliament, and the British Representatives, to further British interests, laid passed the taxes imposed upon them? Are you free in the payment of such taxes? Do you rule yourselves in these exactions? And when you come to analyze the purpose for which the high taxes are laid, they are infinitely worse than the taxes our fathers refused to pay. They refused to pay them, although they were laid in part to discharge the national debt incurred to defend them in the war of 1756.

But what interest has the southern man or southern planter in the duties laid by the act of 1846 to benefit the Northern people in their pursuits of industry? So far as the law accomplishes its object, and the consumption of northern productions is forced on the southern consumer, by excluding the foreign commodity, it is just so much money taken from him and given to the northern producer. It is naked robbery. It is real republicanism on a far more flagitious scale, than is demanded in France. There, all that is required of Government, is bread, or employment to labor, which will give bread. Poverty and starvation afford some semblance of right, for extorting a support, through Government, from the property of others. But here, it is not bread the people of the north require, to be wrung out of us by the taxes of the government they impose, but wealth and power and dominion. We are their colonies, in a more obsolete and oppressive sense, than the colonies of England are to the mother country. For whatever may be the prohibitions on the trade of the colonies imposed by England, she in fact furnishes to her colonies the cheapest manufactured commodities in the world, whilst she is the best consumer of all their productions. The prohibitions, therefore, on their trade are almost entirely nominal. The case is widely different between the Northern and Southern States. The northern people do not and cannot consume the productions of the south, whilst they compel us, by the Tariff of the General Government, to consume theirs. Our natural trade is thus interrupted, or broken up, to the immense loss of the south. Are you free under such a system of taxation? Do you enjoy that liberty in taxation which your fathers bequeathed to you in the constitution, and to obtain which they toiled through the seven years war of our revolution?

But let us turn to the next great test of liberty in taxation—the expenditure or the taxes. As the taxes should be laid by the tax payer for his benefit, so they should be expended by him for his benefit. So far as the Civil List and the Army and Navy of the United States are concerned, the taxes may be said to be expended in conformity to our rights, although they all go in their expenditure to swell the prosperity of the north. But there is one branch of expenditure as unjust in its operations as it is unconstitutional which after a long struggle, repeated

ly arrested by the veto of the Executive, may now be considered a part of the settled policy of the Government—I mean appropriations for Internal Improvements. The free States in the north and west have at length combined to carry out this policy; and having a decided majority in both branches of Congress in its favor, they will allow no one to be elected President of the U. S. who will hereafter arrest it. The present executive is committed to support it, and will doubtless sanction all bills presented to him, for its enforcement. The chief object of the north, in supporting this policy, is to empty the Treasury; and this occasion high taxation for the benefit of their manufactures. So notorious is this, that a distinguished member of Congress from the north afterwards a cabinet minister, declared, that if he could find no better means of exhausting the Treasury, he would vote to empty it into the Potomac river. The object of the west in this policy is to have the means of improving a new country where capital is scarce. The result of the combination is seen in the appropriation already made. Of the \$15,000,000, which have been taken from the Treasury of the United States for Internal Improvements \$12,500,000, have gone to the free States, and \$2,500,000, to the slave States; thus making a clear gain of \$10,000,000 by the former. Your Representatives in Congress believing that Congress has no constitutional right to make any appropriations, have steadily voted against them. Are you free in the expenditure of the taxes you have paid into the Treasury? In the appropriations for Internal Improvement?

A FACT FOR UNGOVERNABLE TEMPER.—Chief Justice Shaw, in charging the jury, in the case of Professor Webster, used the following: "It is a settled rule, that no provocation, with words only, will justify a mortal blow. Then, if upon provoking language the party intentionally revenge himself with a mortal blow, it is unquestionably murder."

Layard, the oriental traveller, has affected an entrance into a room of the Palace at Nimroud, containing an extraordinary quantity of shields, swords, bows, and ornaments in ivory and pearls, beautifully chased and embossed.

Knowledge is the true alchemy that turns every thing it touches to gold. It gives us a dominion over nature, unlocks the storehouses of creation, and opens to us the treasures of the universe.

MAHOMET'S PREACHING.—His definition of charity embraced the wide circle of kindness. "Every good act," he would say, "is charity." Your smiling in your brother's face is charity. An exhortation of your fellow man to virtuous deeds is equal to alms-giving; your putting a wanderer in the right road is charity; your assisting the blind is charity; your removing stones and thorns and other obstructions from the road is charity; your giving water to the thirsty is charity. A man's true wealth hereafter, is the good he does in this world to his fellow man. When he dies, people will say, "What property has he left behind him?" But angels who examine him in his grave will ask, "What good deeds has thou sent before thee?"

(Irving's Life of Mahomet.)

The word "lady" is of Saxon origin; and is compounded of *leaf* and *dian*, *lady* being the result of the two. *Leaf*, *dian*, or, as corrupted, *lady*, literally rendered; means a *feeder of the poor*. How many of those who assume the title in these days are worthy of it?

MAKING AUGER HOLES WITH A GIMBLET.—"My boy what are you doing with that gimblet?" said I to a flaxen-haired urchin, who was laboring with all his might at a piece of board before him.

"Trying to make an auger hole," was the reply, without raising his eyes.

Precisely the business of at least two-thirds of the world, making auger holes with a gimblet.

Here is young A., who has just escaped from the clerk's desk behind the counter. He sports a moustache and imperial, carries a rattan, drinks champagne, talks big about the profits of banking or shaving notes. He thinks he is really a great man; but every body around him sees that he is only "making auger holes with a gimblet."

Miss C. is a nice, pretty girl, and might be very useful, too, for she has intelligence, but she must be the *ton*—goes to plays, lounges on sofas, keeps her bed till near noon, imagines that she is a belle, disdains labor, forgets, or tries to, that her father was a mechanic—and all for what? Why, she is trying to work herself into the belief, that an auger hole can be made with a gimblet!

How short the years are when we are getting old! Till we are out of our teens, time not only "hides his scythe among the flowers," but actually seems to be mowing by the day. No sooner, however, do we turn the corner of thirty, than he is after us with a scythe that cuts into our years as if they were made up of weeks of wet paper.

THE APOTHECARY'S CAT.

"Yes sire! that tom-cat is a most skilful animal!—Bigelow is not a circumstance compared with that fellow. That cat, would you believe it, now has a personal knowledge of every medicine in the U. S. Dispensary!"

"You don't say so!"

"Fact, I assure you."

The speakers were two medical students, and a country acquaintance whom they had invited to visit at their boarding house.

"Fact, sir, I assure you, knows every medicine personally."

"But how can that starved quadruped know anything about physic?"

"O, very simply—Splint and I are studying medicine; we must make ourselves familiar with the properties of drugs—eh?"

"Of course you must."

"Certainly. Gave a colored man two dollars a week to take doses—tried it two weeks and answered very well—fell off in flesh, though. Third week we supposed him to have iliac passion, and prescribed accordingly strong remedies—galvanism—mercury in substance—hot enemata—blisters. Colored man couldn't stand it—bore up bravely during the premonitory stage, but knocked under when we came to electricity and the hot enemata—"

"Knocked under?"

"True, I assure you—'Massa,' said he, 'no kill-ey me quite.' We didn't stop our treatment. A beautiful case lost, I tell you that."

"But what has that to do with the tom-cat?"

"Much—colored men off the list, hadn't a patient left—began to get rusty—took a stroll on the common to ruminate; saw some boys drowning a cat, (inhuman dogs) bought him for 20 cents, brought him home, and put him under active and philogistic treatment."

"Well! that beats the—"

"It does. Put him through all the recognized courses of medicine, tried several experiments on poisons, instituted a series of comparisons for the cure of cholera, gathered much valuable information; patient fell very low—port wine and bark—recruited sufficient to be trephined for delirium tremens."

"Good gracious!"

"Bore it admirably—iron constitution—a little undermined from recent confinement, but no danger of a fatal termination, as he is now under regimen, and takes kindly to his cod-liver oil."

"Poor Tom."

"Valuable animal, sir, although a queer one to look at—all head and no body—(usual effects of drastics)—soon bring him round, and shall then proceed to study lithotomy, and tying the iliac artery."

Here the wretched animal, as if he had a presentiment of the cruel operations in him, crept shivering under the stove, and we slid.—*Boston News.*

FORGIVENESS.—My heart was heavy, for its trust had been abused, its kindness answered by foul wrong; so, turning gloomily from my fellow men, one Sabbath day, I strolled along the green mounds of the village burial place; here I was reminded how all human love and hate find one sad level, and how, sooner or later, the wronged and the wrong doer, each with a mocked face and cold hands folded over a still heart, pass the green threshold of a common grave whither all footsteps tend—whence none depart. Awe for myself and pitying my race, one common sorrow like a mighty wave swept all my pride away, and, trembling, I forgave.—*J. W. Whittier.*

A REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.—When Dr. Cooper was President of the South Carolina College, he was one of the best natured old gentlemen that ever lectured to mischievous boys. On one occasion, when he entered the lecture room, he found the class all seated with most unwonted punctuality, and looking wondrous grave. Mischief, it was evident, was the cause, and it was apparent that they were prepared for the burst of laughter as the old Doctor waddled along up to the professor's chair, there sat an old he goat, bolt upright, lashed in the chair. But they were disappointed of their fun, for instead of getting angry, and storming at them he mildly remarked: "Ah! young gentlemen! quite republican, I see, in your tendencies; found a representative government—elevated one of your number to the chair, eh! Well, well, it is all right. I dare say the present incumbent can fill it as well as any of you. You may listen to his lecture to-day. Good-bye. Don't feel sheepish about it. And away he went without leaving a single smile behind him.

The woman of sensibility who possesses serenity of mind and an even temper, amid the insults of a faithless and brutal husband, has all the requisites of an angel but immortality.